

CHAPTER 14

THE EASTERN FRONTIER

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I. ROME AND PERSIA

Any description of the eastern frontier must start with a discussion of the relationship between Rome and Persia. The current period is marked by several clearly distinct stages: tension and intermittent warfare from 337 till 363, Julian's major campaign into Mesopotamia in 363 with the subsequent peace settlement, and, finally, the brief war of 421–2. The immediate cause of the chronic strain between the two empires in the fourth century must originate in the territorial gains achieved by Rome in the settlement of 298–9.¹ As a result of this Roman victory, her sovereignty now extended beyond the Tigris and thus reached farther eastward than the empire ever achieved at any other time.² Persia also recognized Roman sovereignty in Armenia and Iberia (modern Georgia). Rome gained control over all the important cities in north-eastern Mesopotamia: Amida, Nisibis, Singara and Bezabde. However, the Parthian and, later, Persian kingdom never accepted a permanent Roman presence in Mesopotamia east of the Euphrates. This, then, naturally led to renewed warfare, although it took several decades for hostilities to be resumed.

When Shapur II (309–79) became king of Persia he repudiated the settlement of 298, sending an embassy (probably in 334) to demand frontier changes.³ Following Constantine's refusal, Shapur abducted Diran, king of Armenia, violating the agreement. Constantine reacted by nominating his nephew Hannibalianus as the new king.⁴ In 336 Hannibalianus drove the Persians out of Armenia, and at least one source mentions Persian incursions launched into Roman territory. Hannibalianus was killed in 336 and succeeded, in 338, by a Roman vassal, Arsak (Arsaces), of doubtful loyalty. Constantine was preparing for a major campaign when he died in

¹ Barnes (1976); Blockley (1984); Winter (1988). The main source: Petr. Patr. fr. 14, Müller, *FHG* iv.189, trans.: Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 133.

² Fest. *Brev.* xiv; xxv; Petr. Patr. fr. 14, *FHG* iv.188f. The precise status of the territory east of the Tigris is not clear from these sources. On these and other passages in Festus, see the historical commentary in Eadie (1967). ³ Lib. *Or.* lxx.71–2. ⁴ Hewsén (1978–9); ch. 1, p. 3 above.

May 337.⁵ This was clearly planned as a large-scale expedition into Persia, similar to many in the second and third centuries.⁶ However, on this campaign the emperor had decided to take bishops with him (Eus. *V. Const.* iv.56).⁷ This innovation introduced an element of ecclesiastical involvement into warfare. Constantine was also the first Roman emperor who intervened against the Persian king on behalf of his Christian subjects.⁸

The ancient sources do not make explicit the cause of the war between Rome and Persia in the period which followed the death of Constantine in 337, nor are we informed of the aims of either party. Julian, in his panegyric in honour of Constantius, merely says that the enemy had broken the peace and was aggressive, so Constantius had to fight (*Or.* 1.18b). It is, however, quite likely that the momentum created by Constantine's plans made the hostilities which followed inevitable, even if Constantius did not pursue his predecessor's ambitious military plans.⁹ According to Festus, nine major battles between Persians and Romans were fought during the reign of Constantius. At least five of these were Persian sieges of cities held by the Romans in northern Mesopotamia: he lists three unsuccessful sieges of Nisibis (337–8, 346 and 350), the fall of Amida (359) and Singara (360).¹⁰ The defence of Nisibis was organized by the local bishops, a novel feature at the time.¹¹ Serious fighting in 359–360¹² had been preceded by negotiations.¹³ Shapur II had written to Constantius that he could have demanded all his ancestral territory as far as the river Strymon and the boundary of Macedonia, but in fact he was offering peace, in exchange for Armenia and Mesopotamia (Amm. Marc. xvii.5.5–6). Constantius in reply insisted on the preservation of the *status quo* in Armenia and Mesopotamia (xvii.14.1–2), and it was on this condition that the Romans offered peace (xvii.14–19). These negotiations show some characteristics of earlier and later diplomacy between the two empires: political rhetoric is combined with straightforward references to the essence of the conflict: sovereignty over the region east of the Euphrates and control, direct or indirect, over Armenia. Two elements missing here, but usually present between the fifth and seventh centuries, are religious conflict and disagreement about the payment of

⁵ Fest. *Brev.* xxvi; Eutr. x.8.2; Anon. *Vales.* vi.35; Oros. *Adu. Pag.* vii.28.31; *Chron. Pasch.* p. 533.

⁶ Fest. *Brev.* xxvi; 'cunctis agminibus' i.e. 'with all the units (at his disposal)'; Barnes (1985).

⁷ Constantine appears in Syriac sources as self-appointed liberator of the Christians of Persia: Barnes (1985).

⁸ Letter of Constantine to Shapur II, cited by Eus. *V. Const.* iv.8–13; trans.: Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 150–2.

⁹ There were expectations that he would: see the *Itinerarium Alexandri*, cited by Barnes (1985) 135.

¹⁰ Eadie, commentary on Festus, *ad loc.*; Warmington (1977).

¹¹ Jacob of Nisibis in 337/8: Jer. *Chron.* 234, 24–5; Theod. *HE* 11.30; *Hist. Rel.* 1.11–12; Syriac sources, translated by Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 168–71; for the sieges of 346 and 350: 191f.; 193–7; add: P. Kawerau (trans.), *Die Chronik von Arbela* (Leuven 1985), 74f.

¹² Sources listed by Eadie (1967) 151.

¹³ Sources: Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 211f.; comments: Isaac, *Limits of Empire* 21–3.

subsidies. The nature of the warfare which followed between Constantius and Shapur II was, in a sense, a prelude to what was to occur in the sixth century over an even longer period: a sporadic and exhausting struggle for control of the cities of northern Mesopotamia, which rarely led to major shifts in the balance of power. When Shapur disbanded his army in 361, the net result of twenty years of intermittent warfare was that Rome still held the Tigris, except at Bezabde, and that Armenia was still a Roman ally. It is unclear whether Rome still controlled any regions east of the Tigris.

The war of 363 was entirely different from the struggles in the preceding period. Julian fought this war along the lines of those planned by earlier generals, from the first half of the first century B.C. onwards, who had hoped to emulate Alexander. It took the shape of a massive Roman invasion of Mesopotamia, making for the Persian capital.¹⁴ This is the best-documented of all the Roman campaigns into Mesopotamia, yet our sources do not agree about the number of Roman soldiers involved,¹⁵ nor are they clear about the crucial question of Julian's war aims in political terms. According to Ammianus, Julian went to war against Persia for three reasons: to punish the Persians for the previous war,¹⁶ because he was tired of idleness, and because 'he was burning to add the title "Parthicus" to the ornaments of his glorious victories' (Amm. Marc. xxii.12.2). The anonymous *Epitome de Caesaribus* xliii merely says that 'Julian, being excessively eager for fame, set out against the Persians.' Those are impressions written down after Julian's death and failure. At the time of the campaign, Libanius, staying at Antioch, expressed the hope 'that the emperor would come leading (in captivity) the present ruler and handing over the (Persian) government to the fugitive (i.e. Hormisdas, Shapur's brother, who had joined the Romans)'.¹⁷ It is possible, but not certain, that the lack of precision in these sources reflects a similar vagueness on the part of the emperor. It is clear, however, that he went to war, like so many others, with the image of Alexander of Macedon in mind.¹⁸ Many modern commentators suggest that Julian had the modest and realistic expectation that he would merely change the balance of power, but there is no trace of such calculations in the contemporary sources. Like many rulers before him he may genuinely have thought that he was going to conquer the rival empire.

There is no uncertainty, however, about the results of the war, which can

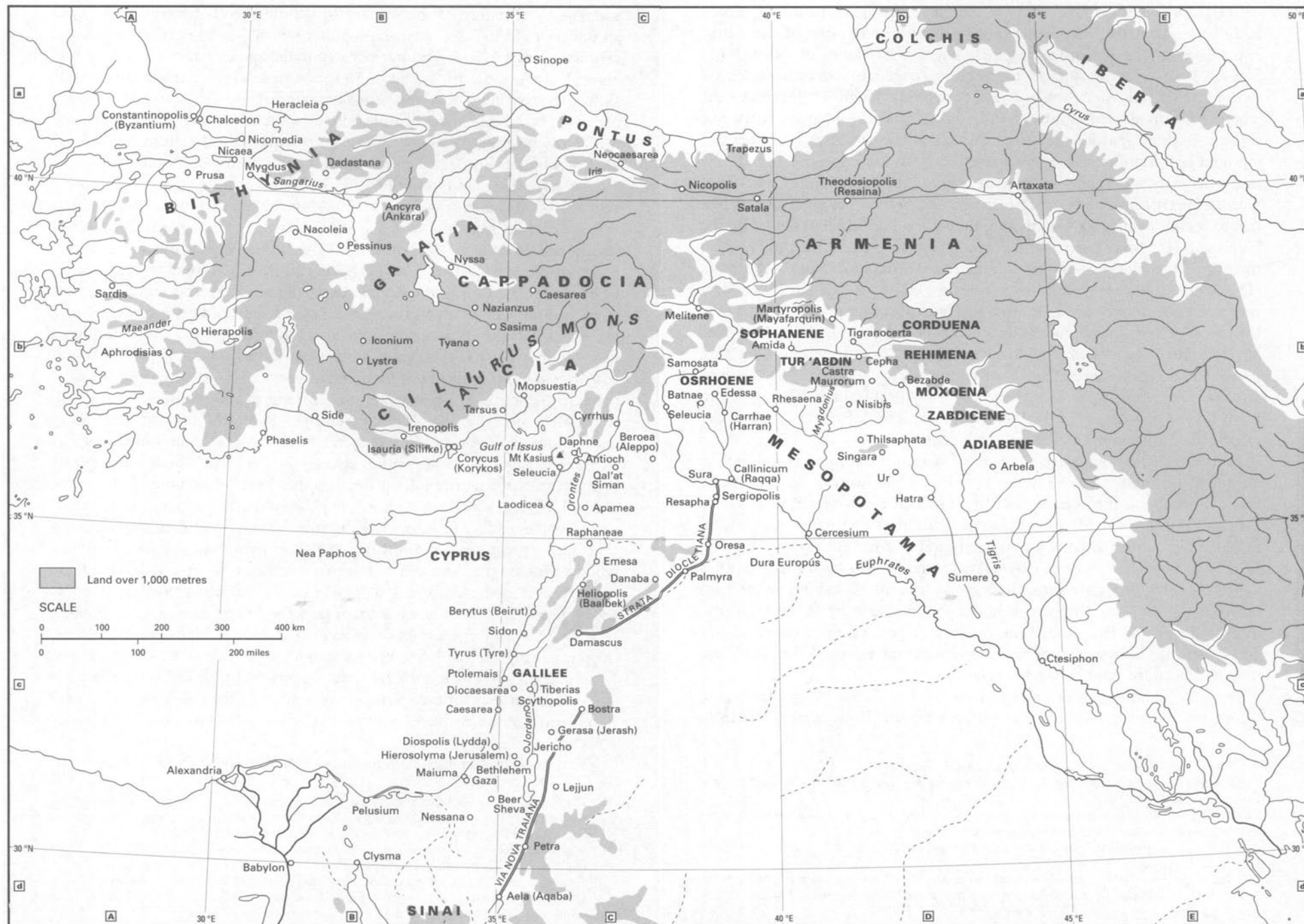
¹⁴ The main source; Amm. Marc. xxiii.2-xxv.3; also important is Zos. iii, based on Eunapius; other sources, listed and partly translated: Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* ch. ix, 231-74; for the historical geography of Babylonia and relevant Talmudic sources: Oppenheimer (1983).

¹⁵ 65,000 men according to Zos. iii.13.1, with discussion by Paschoud, Budé edn, II¹, 110f.

¹⁶ Punishment of the Persians is emphasized also by Lib. *Ep.* 1402.1-3; *Or.* xvii.19-21.

¹⁷ *Ep.* 1402.3 (to Aristophanes), trans. Dodgeon in Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 258.

¹⁸ *Caes.* 333a; Amm. Marc. xvi.5.4-5. In the *Itinerarium Alexandri*, written c. 340, (above, n. 9) Constantius was expected to follow in the footsteps of Alexander and Trajan.



Map 6 Asia Minor and the eastern provinces

be seen in the unfavourable terms of the thirty-year peace treaty negotiated by Julian's successor Jovian.¹⁹ Rome gave up all territory east of the Tigris, and north-eastern Mesopotamia, including the key cities of Nisibis and Singara. It also gave up support for its client Arsaces in Armenia, which led to the loss of influence in the eastern part of the kingdom. It is less clear whether Jovian also committed Rome to participate in the maintenance of a garrison which guarded the Darial Pass across the Caucasus.²⁰ Contemporary and later authors consider the withdrawal in Mesopotamia one of the major disasters suffered by the Roman empire. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* iv. 29) gives the perspective of the early fifth century: in the distant past Rome had had to withdraw in the reign of Tarquinius, and had suffered defeat by the Gauls and Hannibal. Later Hadrian had given up 'three noble provinces to the rule of the Persians' – and then Augustine mentions Jovian's withdrawal. 'The boundaries were established where they are still today. The loss of territory was not so great as that caused by Hadrian's concessions, but the new frontier was fixed in the middle by a compromise.'²¹ While he disapproves of Hadrian's concessions and Julian's rashness, Augustine concedes that Jovian had no choice. Seen from another perspective, however, the peace of 363 may have contributed decisively to the political stability of the region. Julian's campaign remained the last major expedition of either side into the heartland of the enemy till the late sixth century.

During the decades after the war of 363, the struggle continued in Armenia and Iberia (see p. 425 above).²² In 369 the Roman vassal in Iberia was deposed, and the country was then divided between a Roman and a Persian vassal (Amm. Marc. xxvii. 12.4, 16f.). In 387 Armenia was divided into two parts, four-fifths going to Persia and one-fifth to Rome. Thus the Roman position in the north-east was also significantly weakened, another development which, paradoxically, may have enhanced stability in the relationship of the two empires rather than impairing it. In view of the increased pressure from the Huns, however, it was a loss of control in an area which had become far more important for the safety of the Near East than had been the case in previous centuries.

In 395–7 there was a major invasion by Huns from across the Caucasus.²³ They crossed the Darial Pass while the Roman army was busy

¹⁹ The sources are listed in Dodgeon and Lieu, *Eastern Frontier* 237.

²⁰ John Lydus, *De Mag.* 52, ed. Bandy, 213. This may not have become an issue before the war of 441–2.

²¹ '... nisi... illic imperii fines constituerentur, ubi hodieque persistunt, non quidem tanto detrimento quantum concesserat Hadrianus, sed media tamen compositione fixi'.

²² The main sources: Amm. Marc. xxvii. 12; xxix. 1.1–4; xxx. 1f.; Faustus IV (*FHG* v 2 s. 232ff.); Procop. *BP* i. 5. 10–40.

²³ Ch. 16, pp. 502–5 below; Maenchen-Helfen, *Huns* 51–9. Ammianus' digression on the Huns and Alans: Matthews, *Ammianus* 332–42, bibliography: p. 528, n. 47. The main sources: Claudian, *In Ruf.* 11.26–35; Jer. *Ep.* 60.16; Socr. *HE* vi. 1; Philostorg. xi. 8.

in Italy, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria and the Persian part of Mesopotamia were affected. The invaders came as far as Edessa and Antioch. A letter written by Jerome vividly describes the anxiety felt all over the Near East at the time. This was a major threat which the two empires would have to face for a long time to come and it would strongly influence their mutual relations.

During most of the reign of Yezdegerd I (399–420) and in the first years of Theodosius II (408–50), relations between Rome and Persia were marked by a policy of mutual tolerance (see p. 433 above). Trade was regulated, for a Roman law of 408–9 prescribes that merchants may hold markets only at the places agreed upon, namely at Nisibis, Callinicum and Artaxata (*CJ* IV.63.4). The reason given for the restriction is the prevention of spying, but it is clear that this sort of agreement also represents a form of mutual accommodation. There was also tolerance on both sides in the sphere of religion. This ended with the ascendancy of Theodosius' sister Pulcheria at the eastern court, while provocations by Christians in Persia (Theod. *HE* v.41) led in 420 to renewed persecution there. Two Arab allies played an interesting role at the time: Aspebetus, an ally of the Persians who went over to Rome (see below) and Mundhir I of al-Hira who had great influence on Yezdegerd's successor, his son Vahram V. The persecution of Christians was continued and even intensified by Vahram (*Chron. Min.* II.74f.). Finally, Theodosius II, probably under the influence of Pulcheria, decided to embark again on a full-scale war (A.D. 421–2).²⁴ The Romans besieged Nisibis, following which the Persians penetrated Roman territory and besieged Theodosiopolis (probably Resaina in Mesopotamia). Both enterprises were unsuccessful. In 422 an agreement was reached which restored the *status quo*, including religious freedom in both empires.²⁵ The accord probably stipulated that Rome was to contribute towards the costs of defending the Caucasus passes.

The war of 421–2, then, was the first time in history when one state went to war with another for the sake of Christianity. Constantius' campaign had also been remarkable for several features which first appeared at that time and became common afterwards. Constantius made no attempt at long-distance moves into Syria or Mesopotamia: the fighting concentrated on efforts to besiege cities in the frontier zone in northern Mesopotamia. The stamina of the local population played a key role, as we see from a law of 420 (*CJ* VIII.10.10) which exhorted property-owners in provinces exposed to Persian attack to protect their estates with private fortifications. The list of provinces mentioned in the text includes virtually the entire diocese of

²⁴ The main source: Socr. *HE* VII.18.9–25, 20 (*PG* LXVII. 776); cf. Holum (1977); Schrier (1992); ch. 13, p. 435 above.

²⁵ *Chron. Min.* II.75; Sozom. *HE* IX.4; Socr. *HE* VII.20; *Chronicle of Arbela* 16 (ed. P. Kawerau, *CSCO* 467, *Scriptores Syri* 199), trans. p. 91.

Oriens, but significantly excludes the provinces of Palestine, Arabia and First Syria, which were apparently considered safe. It is clear that this was not an exceptional measure, for more than a century afterwards, in the sixth century, the law was incorporated into Justinian's Code. We should note, too, that the siege of Theodosiopolis was organized by bishop Eunomios (Theod. *HE* v.39). Thus we can see both the extent to which the central authorities had to rely on local initiative, and the key role which the bishops played in this process, a role which, in the third century, would still have been played by the civic authorities.²⁶

II. ARABS AND DESERT PEOPLES

In the fourth century the Arab nomad forces – ‘Saracens’, as they are called in the contemporary literature – became an important factor in the warfare between Rome and Persia to an extent previously unknown. The Arabs are occasionally mentioned in the sources during the first three centuries A.D., but from the fourth century onwards every author who discusses wars in the east refers to the Saracens as a significant element. There is indeed evidence of a new social and political development whereby larger and more cohesive Arab tribal federations form links with the governments of the two empires. A notable illustration of this is the well-known inscription of 328 from Namara, north-east of the Jebel Druz in southern Syria, which refers to a *mlk*, a ‘lord’ or ‘king’ of the ‘Arabs’. It is one of the oldest documents in classical Arabic; it is written in Nabataean characters and has a problematic text.²⁷ Imru’l-qais, who had become phylarch for the Romans, is described as conqueror of tribes living in a wide range of territories extending to the borders of the Yemen. The contents of the text and its find-spot Namara, a settlement in the province of Arabia, leave no doubt that Imru’l-qais was an ally of the Romans. He also appears in Arabic sources and was apparently related to the newly established Lakhmid dynasty of al-Hira in south-western Babylonia, who were allies of the Persians. Even if we have little information about the social organization implied in the inscription, and the real measure of political control suggested by the term *mlk* (king or lord) of the Arabs, both clearly represent a tangible consolidation of the military and political power of the Arab peoples at the fringes of the empires.

Ammianus, discussing the early stages of the eastern war in the year 356, says that the Persians applied a new technique: instead of the usual set battles, they now practised raids and guerrilla warfare (Amm. Marc.

²⁶ Cf. Isaac, *Limits of Empire* 252–60.

²⁷ Cf. *CAH* xii², ch. 21; A. Beeston, *BSOAS* 42 (1979) 1–6. A recent, revised reading: Bellamy (1985); discussion: Sartre (1982) 136–9; Bowersock (1983) 138–42; Shahid (1984b), 31–53.

xvi.9.1).²⁸ This means that the Persians allowed their Saracen allies to do what they were good at, carrying off property and cattle in quick raids. The Saracen nomads did not engage in siege warfare; against towns or in set battles they were totally ineffective, as was observed in well-known statements by Ammianus (xxv.6.8), Procopius (*BP* II.19.12) and commentators of other periods. Thus, while the pre-Islamic nomads refrained from attacking settlements, they turned on anything of value outside the fortified quarters, destroying water systems, crops, palm groves and fruit trees. This, then was a form of harassment initiated by the Persians, which was intended to cause economic and social havoc in the frontier regions. Ammianus, however, had his doubts as to the effectiveness of the new use of Saracens as a means of achieving the war aims of either party. He found the Saracens 'desirable neither as allies nor as enemies' (xiv.4.1), a judgement echoed in the sixth century by the Syriac chronicler Joshua the Stylite: 'to the Arabs on both sides this was a source of much profit and they wrought their will on both kingdoms'.²⁹ We cannot judge the real impact of this new phenomenon on the course of the wars, but, whatever it was, participation of tribesmen in the fighting continued whenever the two powers fought each other, from the fourth century till the Islamic conquests. While this is a reality to be reckoned with, it does not mean that the Roman empire faced constant pressure on the frontier from nomad groups originating in the Arabian peninsula. It is often taken for granted that the Roman imperial army was continually threatened with imminent invasion and conquest by nomads from the desert, which it succeeded in preventing up to the seventh century. However, there is little support for such views in the ancient sources. It is true that wherever settled regions adjoined the desert the Romans faced the phenomena of nomadic pastoralism and transhumance – the seasonal migrations of pastoral peoples who lived in marginal climatic conditions – but it does not necessarily follow that these formed a major threat to the stability of the settled regions. Whenever there is evidence of large-scale hostilities between Rome and the Arabs from the desert, this is usually part of the wars between Rome and Persia.

Saracens are mentioned several times in connection with Julian's Persian campaign in 363, when the desert population acted as allies of both sides. We have the name of the Persian ally 'Malechus [the King] son of [or named] Podosaces, phylarch of the Assanitic Saracens, an infamous bandit, who had long raided our border districts with great violence'.³⁰ 'Malechus'

²⁸ Also: xiv.3.2; xxiii.3.8; xxxi.16.5. For Ammianus and the Saracens: Matthews, *Ammianus* 342–53; Shahid (1984b) 82–6; 107–24. For the Persian allies, Bosworth, *Camb. Hist. Iran* III.2 (1983) 593–612.

²⁹ *The Chronicle, composed in Syriac*, *AV* 507, text and trans. W. Wright (1882), 79.

³⁰ Amm. Marc. xxiv.2–4: 'Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum, famosi nominis latro, omni saevitia per nostros limites diu grassatus'. Cf. Sartre (1982) 139f.; Shahid (1984b) 119–121.

clearly derives from the Semitic title *mlk* which we saw above in connection with Imru'l-qais. As in the Namara inscription, here too this title is combined with the Greek term *phylarch*, the traditional rank of a tribal chief recognized by the Roman authorities as an ally. The term 'bandit' (*latro*), which Ammianus applies to Malechus, has been used through the ages to disqualify the moral and legal standing of enemies. More specifically, the Romans used it for any enemy who was not a recognized head of state. In the present case 'bandit' or 'robber' is a term used to denote an ally of the enemy, who practised irregular warfare. Malechus had long harassed the Roman frontier districts, according to Ammianus, which implies that, in times of peace, his people carried out raids against Roman territory, while sparing that of the Persians.

The best-known long-term allies of Persia in this period were the Lakhmids, who lived at Hira on the lower Euphrates (near An Najaf and al Kūfah).³¹ The allies of the Romans were at first the Tanūkh, in the desert west of the Euphrates.³² Towards the end of the fourth century these were superseded by the Salih, who lived in the Syrian and Mesopotamian deserts. The latter were supplanted by the Ghassanids towards the end of the fifth century. It is possible that Malechus, whom we have seen described as the 'phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum', was an ancestor of the Ghassanid rulers, since Assan may well stand for Ghassan.

Participation in full-scale campaigns was only one of the tasks of the phylarchs, although the nature of our sources is such that they are most visible to us in that capacity. Their permanent role is clear from occasional scraps of evidence, many of them relating to the fifth and sixth centuries. Thus we have evidence that they carried out raids against the rural population in the territory of the rival empire. They also defended the friendly civilian population against similar raids by the other empire's allies, and protected the settled population against nomad raids, both by refraining from raiding themselves and keeping other tribes from doing so. In case of need, they could assist the Roman army in internal police duties. Eventually the phylarchs became a regular part of the Byzantine provincial organization. This is clear from a legal stipulation of 443, which warns the *duces* that they have no right to remove and seize any part of the subsistence allowance granted to the Saracen allies and other peoples.³³ Such allies apparently received an allowance, like the regular *limitanei*, but, unlike the latter, they were not supposed to contribute part of their allowance to the Roman officers, although the very fact that there is legislation on the subject shows that there were irregularities in the fifth and sixth centuries.

³¹ Bosworth, *loc. cit.*, esp. 597–609. ³² Sartre (1982) 134–6.

³³ Theodosius, *Nov.* xxiv.2 of 443, 12 Sept. (*CJ* 1.46.4.2): 'De Saracenorum vero foederatorum aliarumque gentium annonariis alimentis nullam penitus eos decarpendi aliquid vel auferendi licentiam habere concedimus.'

It is impossible to say exactly when these relationships developed. We learn of them through incidental or random events recorded in the literary sources and inscriptions. Two early references are found in Ammianus, both in connection with Julian's campaign of 363. Ammianus (xxv.6.10) records that Julian's army found the Saracens east of the Tigris hostile because Julian had vetoed their subsidies and the many presents they had been used to in the past. The implication is clear: when Roman sovereignty extended east of the Tigris there were arrangements with Arab tribes in those parts, which entailed financial support in return for various services of the kind described above. Payment for services as an instrument of empire is less glorious than the exaction of tribute or the exertion of power, and many of our literary authorities tend therefore to look askance at the practice. When it is mentioned, it is usually because the payments themselves were a source of conflict. Julian was the first of several emperors who caused serious problems because he refused to pay subsidies, although he needed the support of the very allies whom he refused to pay.³⁴

It should be noted that it was a different group of Saracens which approached Julian at Callinicum on the Euphrates, also in 363, presenting him with a crown and offering their services (Amm. Marc. xxiii.3.8). These were accepted because this sort of fighter was 'good at covert tactics' ('ut ad furta bellorum apposit'). The difference between the attitudes to and relationships with the two groups of Saracens mentioned above may be explained by the respective geography: those east of the Tigris were living on the periphery of the empire, beyond the reach of the standing army in peacetime, while those who assembled at Callinicum, even if they were nomads, lived in a region where they were dependent on relationships with towns and settlements under firm Roman control.

So far we have only heard of Arab allies active in the struggle between Rome and Persia in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. The first time when Saracens are known to have caused serious trouble independent of hostilities between Rome and Persia was fifteen years after Julian's expedition, shortly before the battle of Adrianople in 378. Mavia (or Maouia), queen of the Saracens, broke an existing agreement with Rome and carried out raids in the border regions of Palestine, Phoenice and Egypt after the death of her husband. We are not told why she did this.³⁵ After various military successes by the Saracens, an agreement was reached between Rome and the queen. Peace was made on condition that a Saracen monk named Moses be ordained as bishop, in order to convert the Saracens to Christianity. Mavia's daughter was married to a Roman general named Victor.

³⁴ Isaac (1995).

³⁵ The main sources: Rufin. *HE* xi (ii). 6 (*GC* ix.2, 1010-12); Socr. *HE* iv.36; Sozom. *HE* vi.38; Theod. *HE* iv.20. Cf. Sartre (1982) 140-4.

Our sources on the Mavia affair are all ecclesiastical, so that their interest focuses exclusively on the religious aspects of the episode. The history of Mavia has been discussed frequently in the modern literature, and some scepticism expressed as to the reliability of these sources. However, even a minimalist interpretation allows several conclusions. We have here another instance in the fourth century of a federation or grouping of tribes, with apparently a strong leader, Mavia's unnamed husband, about whom we know nothing. He was succeeded by the queen, herself semi-legendary, who maintained power and started hostilities. These tribes were based somewhere in the general area of Palestine, Arabia and Sinai and had made a treaty with the Romans. This is clear from Sozomen's statement that agreements were broken when Mavia attacked in 378. The scale of the warfare is impossible to judge from the available sources and may have been far more localized than they imply. It is certain, however, that these events coincided with the revolt of the Visigoths, which forced the emperor Valens to leave Antioch, withdraw his troops from Armenia and campaign in Thrace. Following Saracen successes, the Romans agreed to negotiate, and a new agreement was reached, presumably advantageous to the Saracens. The treaty comprised a dynastic marriage and the giving of a bishop. Rome undoubtedly promised subsidies, although these are not mentioned by the church historians. The Saracens must also have accepted military obligations: this is the sole element of the entire affair to be mentioned indirectly by Ammianus (xxx1.16.5–6).

After the Roman defeat at Adrianople (378), a Saracen detachment helped to save Constantinople from the Goths – the curious details are often repeated in the literature – and it is quite likely that these were soldiers sent by Mavia, for Socrates (*HE* v.1) and Sozomen (*HE* vii.2) both report that she sent Saracens to Constantinople. It remains to be observed that it was the shocking behaviour of one of the Saracens, rather than their fighting skills, which gave them the upper hand. Ammianus emphasizes that such troops are better at covert raiding expeditions than at pitched battles.³⁶ Yet the tactics of other Saracens, with their speed and manoeuvrability, were also effective on another occasion earlier in the same year (*Zos.* iv.22).

A few years after Adrianople, some time before 389, a treaty was broken by Saracens (*Pactus, Pan. Lat.* II(xii).22.3), but it is not at all certain that these were Mavia's subjects: as already indicated, Mavia had her base somewhere in the region of Palestine and Arabia, but the Romans also had relationships with various groups of Saracens living further north, in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. It is equally uncertain that the Mavia who is recorded on an inscription of 425 had any connection with the queen. The

³⁶ xxx1.16.5: 'ad furta magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concursatorias habilis pugnas . . .' Cf. xxiii.3.8; 'ad furta bellorum appositi' (above).

inscription was found in southern Syria, and records that a woman named Mavia had been responsible for the construction of a martyrium of St Thomas (*AE* (1947) 193). The find-spot may suggest a connection, but the name Mavia (Māwiyya) was not unique.

Sozomen tells the history of Zokomos immediately following his account of Mavia. Zokomos was a Saracen phylarch of Rome who was baptized with his tribe and then fought the Persians and other Saracens. This must have taken place in the last quarter of the fourth century.³⁷ As with Mavia, we have no precise geographical information, but evidently similar arrangements between Rome and these nomads were involved and Christianization was part of them.

A form of coexistence at another level may be observed in the same period in Sinai. In the early 380s, the nun Egeria made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, including a journey from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai and back, via Clysma (Suez), Pelusium and the Sinai desert coastal road.³⁸ While travelling in the Sinai desert, she was escorted by native camel-riders centred at Pharan (*It. Eg.* vi.2(46)): there was no Roman military presence there. However, when she entered Egypt at the important harbour city of Clysma, she found a functioning chain of road-stations and bases for soldiers. These soldiers escorted the travellers along the trade route from the Gulf of Suez to the Mediterranean. Thereafter, along the coast road from the Thebaid to Gaza, there was no need for a military escort (ix.3(49)). The relationship between the walled town of Pharan in Sinai and the nomads was not regulated by the Roman state. It was regulated by local agreements which entailed the payment of protection money by the local authorities.³⁹ Without such arrangements there could be trouble. In 373 Saracens attacked hermits living near the traditional site of the burning bush in Sinai (Nilus, *Narratio* iv, *PG* lxxix.625 ff.). This site was only fortified in the reign of Justinian. Mount Sinai was an extremely remote and isolated spot, but there were also problems with banditry quite near more settled lands. In the first half of the fourth century Hilarion withdrew to an area about seven miles south of Gaza-Maioumas. This region, at the edge of the desert, was infested by bandits, according to his biographer Jerome (*V. Hil.* 3, *PL* xxiii.31; 12; 33). The same author, in his *Life of Malchus*, describes the main road from Beroea (Aleppo) to Edessa in north Syria as unsafe for merchants because of the presence of Saracen robbers: 'The desert is near the road. There Saracens without permanent homes wander everywhere.'⁴⁰

³⁷ Sozom. *HE* vi.38; cf. Sartre (1982) 143–6.

³⁸ *It. Eg.* i–x (*CCSL* clxxv.37–51); Petrus Diaconus, *Liber de Locis Sanctis* v (*CCSL* clxxv.100–3); cf. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* 58–60; ch. 8, pp. 256 and 261 above.

³⁹ Nilus, *Narrationes*, *PG* lxxix.661, written c. 400; cf. Isaac, *Limits of Empire* 247.

⁴⁰ Jer. *V. Malchi* iv (*PL* xxiii.55): 'vicina est publico itineri solitudo, per quam Saraceni incertis sedibus huc atque illuc vagantur'; Segal (1955) 127f.; 133.

In the early fifth century the activities of Honorius and Stilicho in North Africa caused migrations of Berbers from the Macae, and Austurians from Cyrene eastwards. In 411 Jerome describes alarming incursions into the frontier districts of Egypt, Palestine, Phoenice and Syria (*Ep.* 126.2).⁴¹ The episode is instructive: scholars used to consider the events described by Jerome a classic case of pressure on the empire engendered by migrations from the outside. It is quite possible, however, that this movement of peoples in the frontier provinces was caused at least partly by military activities of the Roman army.⁴²

As we have already noted in connection with the war of 421–2, two Arab allies of the Persians played an important role at this time: Mundhir I of al-Hira, and Aspebetos, whose name derives from the Persian title *spahbadh*. Migrations of nomad clans are not often mentioned in the literary sources, and even when they are, they cannot usually be traced with any accuracy. However, in the period covered by this volume, there is at least one recorded instance of significant movement between the Persian and Roman empires. In about 420 Aspebetos, chief of an Arab tribe or group of tribes, was ordered to prevent converts to Christianity from fleeing from Persia to Roman territory. However, Aspebetos himself went over with his people from the Persian sphere of influence to the Roman empire.⁴³ With the permission of the Roman authorities he settled in Palestine, near the monastery of Euthymius, between Jerusalem and Jericho.⁴⁴ He was accepted as an ally and made ‘phylarch of the Roman federates in Arabia’, a title of higher rank than that granted to previous phylarchs. Aspebetos and his son Terebon were then baptized by Euthymius. He assumed the name Petros and was consecrated as bishop of the camp-dwellers (*τῶν παρεμβολῶν ἐπίσκοπος*). His duties were the same as those of other phylarchs: to protect the settled population against harassment by nomads, from his own and other tribes. This was particularly relevant for the area between Jerusalem and Jericho (where Aspebetos and his nomads settled). In the early fourth century Jerome records the presence of highwaymen on the Jerusalem–Jericho road.⁴⁵ In case of need Aspebetos would also have to support Rome in its wars with Persia. The information is relayed by Cyril of Scythopolis, who got it directly from Aspebetos’ great-grandson Terebon II in the middle of the fifth century. A Petros, bishop of ‘those in the encampment’ was present at the council of Ephesus in 431, which may serve as indirect confirmation of the story. The descendants of Aspebetos’

⁴¹ ‘... sic Aegypti limitem, Palaestinae, Phoenices, Syriae percurrit ad instar torrentis cuncta secum trahens, ut vix manus eorum misericordia Christi potuerimus evadere’. The other key source is John Cassian, *Collationes* 1 (*SChré.* 42), 117f. ⁴² Roques (1983); Graf (1989) 349f.

⁴³ Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euthymii* x, ed. Schwartz, 18–25; also: Socr. *HE* vii.18. Cf. Sartre (1982) 149–53; Rubin (1986) 680f.; Isaac, *Limits of Empire* 246f. ⁴⁴ Hirschfeld (1992).

⁴⁵ See Jerome’s translation of Eusebius, *Onomastikon* (ed. Klostermann), xxv.10–14; Jer. *Ep.* 108.12.

followers were attacked by nomads, and their settlement was then transferred to a place closer to Jerusalem, where, however, it was attacked again.⁴⁶

Three points are noteworthy in the story of Aspebetos: first, the political importance of the conversion of an Arab chief and his followers to Christianity, which we also saw in the cases of Mavia and Zokomos. Secondly, it is clear that the escape of Saracen Christians to Roman territory greatly angered the Persians and, as noted above (p. 443), religious conflict ultimately led to the war of 421–2 (Socr. *HE* VII.18, *PG* LXVII.773). One of the fifth-century treaties between Rome and Persia included a provision that neither party would accept rebellious Saracen allies of the other state (Malchus, fr. 1, *FHG* IV.112f.) and this is repeated in the treaty of A.D. 562 (Menander Protector, fr. 11, *FHG* IV.208 ff. = fr. 6.1 Blockley). The relationship between the two empires and their respective Saracen allies remained an important issue till the seventh century. Finally, nomads who became sedentary appear to have lost the qualities which made them useful in controlling other nomads, for the descendants of Aspebetos' followers could not defend themselves adequately against attack by other nomads.

In order to interpret correctly all this information about pre-Islamic Arabs in the two empires, we must never lose sight of the perspective of our sources. The urbanized élite who produced the Roman literary sources had no interest in the lifestyle of nomads or transhumants. They did not attempt to understand the relationship between the settled inhabitants of the marginal areas and the nomads of the steppe, and the picture we can obtain from them is necessarily incomplete. Thus it would be wrong to claim that there was no symbiotic relationship between settlers and nomads because the Roman historians did not notice that it existed. Patristic literature does occasionally give the perspective of isolated individuals or communities living at the periphery of the settled lands. Thus, biographies of saints may testify to the presence of bandits along desert roads or nomad attacks on monasteries. However, this kind of information is not of the same order as reports of major tribal movements into the settled areas of the empire. Only the latter were usually of interest to the urban upper class. None the less, even when our sources report nomad attacks, it has to be kept in mind that such reports may contain some rhetorical exaggeration. In the fourth century, then, the Saracens began to play a role in the wars between Rome and Persia which they did not have before. Indeed, the reports we have about Mavia may indicate a consolidation of military power and a willingness to act which were unheard of in the third century. The Saracen phylarchs became an integral part of the apparatus of imperial control in the eastern frontier zone. Yet all this should be clearly

⁴⁶ Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euthymii* (ed. Schwartz), 67f.

distinguished from large-scale and independent military activity or heavy pressure from nomads on settled regions. From the fourth till the seventh century, the Arabs never seriously endangered the stability of the provinces and they never engendered pressures comparable to those caused by peoples from the north, such as the Huns and the Goths.

III. REGIONAL AND LOCAL UNREST

1. *Isauria*

The Isaurians inhabited the mountainous hinterland of the coast of southern Asia Minor, from Side in the west to Seleucia (Silifke) in the east.⁴⁷ The region is mountainous, difficult of access, and affords an unstable economy. Although it is in the middle of the empire, it is surrounded by an unusual kind of guard posts, as if it were a frontier district, for it is defended not by men, but by the nature of the country.⁴⁸ Consequently, for most of the time, the inhabitants were only partially controlled by the imperial authorities. The fourth century, however, marked a gradual change from endemic banditry to periodic full-scale guerrilla war and wide-ranging raids into several provinces. In the period under discussion, various sources record four or five outbreaks of aggression, in the years 353, 359,⁴⁹ 367–8, 376–7⁵⁰ and around 404–7.⁵¹ The first three are recorded by Ammianus, but only the first of these is described extensively (xiv.2). The last is mentioned by Jerome and Zosimus among others, and appears to have been the most dangerous of all: the Isaurians ravaged Phoenice and Galilee and caused panic in Palestine. The walls of Jerusalem were strengthened.⁵² At this time a law in the Theodosian Code provided that Isaurian bandits could be tortured during Lent and on Easter Day (*C.Th.* ix.35.7 of 408). All these episodes ended inconclusively: the Romans were unable to engage the Isaurians in set battles and the Isaurians, like the Saracens, could not force sieges. From the second half of the fourth century onwards, the governor of Isauria had special military powers. He was a *comes rei militaris*, rather than a regular *dux*, and probably also *praeses*.⁵³ This means that the civil and military government was combined. The governor was provided with a strong

⁴⁷ Rougé (1966); Hopwood (1986); Hellenkemper (1986); Syme (1987); Matthews, *Ammianus* 355–67 with map.

⁴⁸ *S.H.A., Trig. Tyr.* xxvi; 'in medio Romani nominis solo regio eorum novo genere custodiarum quasi limes includitur, locis defensa, non hominibus'. ⁴⁹ *Amm. Marc.* xix.13.1.

⁵⁰ *Zos.* iv.20.1–2. Paschoud, *Budé* edn, II², 371f. suggests that the disorders described in the context of 376/7 by Zosimus are in fact those described by Ammianus for 367/8 (xxvii 9.6–7).

⁵¹ *Zos.* v.25, with Paschoud, III¹, n. 52 on pp. 188–91; *Jer. Ep.* 114.1.

⁵² *Jer. Ep.* 114.1: 'Isaurorum repentina eruptio: Phoenicis Galilaeaeque vastitas: terror Palaestinae, praecipue urbs Hierosolymae: et nequaquam librorum sed murorum destructio.'

⁵³ *Not. Dig. Or.* xxix.6; cf. Isaac, *Limits of Empire* 75.

garrison, in the words of Ammianus, 'based in many neighbouring towns and forts'.⁵⁴ In other words, the Roman troops did not occupy the heartland of Isauria itself, but rather the towns at the fringes of the area and various sensitive points which controlled access. Thus Isauria furnished a steady flow of recruits for the imperial army, and one of their generals eventually became the emperor Zeno (474–91). His death was followed by outbreaks of violence. In the reign of Zeno's successor Anastasius (491–518) the Isaurians appointed a tyrant for themselves and erupted into the neighbouring provinces before being defeated (Zachariah of Mitylene, *Chronicle* VII.2).

2. *Palestine*

References to a revolt in Palestine in 351–2 have been variously interpreted.⁵⁵ Aurelius Victor (*Caes.* XLII.11) reports briefly: 'And meanwhile a revolt of the Jews, who impiously raised Patricius to royalty, was suppressed.'⁵⁶ Jerome also mentions these events: 'The Jews rebelled and murdered the soldiers during the night and took their arms, but Gallus thereafter suppressed their rebellion and burned their cities: Diocaesarea, Tiberias and Diospolis, and many villages.'⁵⁷ Theophanes (ed. C. de Boor I.40) adds that the revolt was directed against 'Hellenes' (i.e. pagans) and Samaritans. Several Talmudic passages have been cited in connection with these events.⁵⁸ There is disagreement about the historical significance of information from the Talmudic sources, for they derive from material which is not historiographical in nature and they contain no explicit reference to a revolt. On one point, however, they are unanimous – namely, that Ursicinus visited several places in Palestine at this time, among them Diocaesarea. Ursicinus was the senior commander in the army of the Orient.⁵⁹ If he was present in small towns in Palestine, not long after a large-scale campaign by Shapur II in northern Mesopotamia, there must have been a real military need for him to go there. The *magister equitum Orientis* would not have interfered in a mere local police action. The *dux Palaestinae*, who had a considerable force at his disposal (see below), could have suppressed limited disturbances.

Brief mention must be made here of other significant events concerning the Jews in Palestine, beginning with Julian's abortive restoration of the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem. The history of Ammianus (XXIII.1.2–3)

⁵⁴ XIV.2.5: '... milites per municipia plurima, quae isdem conterminant, dispositos et castella ...'

⁵⁵ Lieberman (1945/6) 337–40; Geiger (1979–80); Stemberger (1987) 132–50; Mor (1989). Sources and older literature listed in Stern (1974–84) II.501.

⁵⁶ 'Et interea Iudaeorum seditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni specie[m] sustulerant, oppressa.'

⁵⁷ Jer. *Chron.* 282, ed. Helm, I.238. Cf. Socr. *HE* II.33; Sozom. *HE* IV.7.5.

⁵⁸ Stern (1974–84) II, 501. ⁵⁹ *PLRE* I.983f. s.v. 'Ursicinus 2'.

mentions it, as do many patristic sources; it is also referred to in a letter from Julian to the Jews, but totally ignored in the Talmudic literature.⁶⁰ This failed attempt probably coincided with the preparations for the Persian campaign, and was clearly connected with the emperor's anti-Christian policy, a connection ignored by Ammianus. The work was started, but a natural disaster, presumably an earthquake, prevented completion of the project.

The Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora had enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under Roman rule from the second century onward. At the pinnacle of the Jewish leadership stood the patriarch (*nasi*), who possessed considerable political and judicial powers and received dues from Jews in Palestine and abroad.⁶¹ Under the Christian emperors, the legal position of the Jews gradually worsened, a development which is expressed most clearly in four laws: (1) *C.Th.* II.1.10 (*CJ* I.9.8) of 398, restricting the judicial powers of the Jewish authorities;⁶² (2) *C.Th.* XVI.8.14 of 399, a prohibition on the collecting of tax by the patriarch, which, however, was revoked by *C.Th.* XVI.8.17 of 404; (3) *C.Th.* XVI.8.22 (*CJ* I.9.15) of 415, demoting the patriarch Gamaliel VI from the rank of illustrious honorary praetorian prefect and restricting his authority and powers; (4) *C.Th.* XVI.8.29 (*CJ* I.9.15) of 429, transferring to the treasury the crown tax which the Jews used to pay to the patriarch and his household. This text refers to the patriarchate as having been extinct for some time (*post excessum patriarcharum*). Since the position was hereditary, it is possible that it was abolished by default and not by imperial interference. The Jews in Palestine were left with only the leadership of the rabbinical authorities, who formed two *synhedria* in the provinces of Palaestina I and II.

Finally, we should note here the editorial activity in Tiberias (and perhaps partly in Caesarea) which gave the Palestinian Talmud its final written form. The Palestinian Talmud reflects the interpretative activities of Jewish sages in the third and fourth centuries, with the latest events and persons referred to belonging to the middle of the fourth century. It is therefore plausible to assign the editorial process to the last part of the fourth century and perhaps to the beginning of the fifth. Unlike its Babylonian counterpart, edited in the fifth century, the Palestinian Talmud is incomplete. We do not know why the Palestinian Talmud was edited at this period in history, but it is quite possible that the deteriorating position of Judaism in the Christian Roman empire accelerated the process.

⁶⁰ Comments on Ammianus and references to patristic sources: Stern (1974–84) II.608f. Julian's letter to the Jewish community: no. 204, pp. 396d–398 (Bidez and Cumont, 1922); Stern, no. 486a, pp. 559f., comments on pp. 508–11; 561–8. A supposed letter of Cyril of Jerusalem and discussion of other sources: Brock (1977). ⁶¹ Juster (1914), I.391–400.

⁶² Comments on this and related laws: Linder (1987).

IV. MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Military organization in the period under consideration can only be discussed profitably in connection with a number of related developments. First of all, as we have noted above, Roman military and political expansion in the east reached its farthest limits in the last years of the third century. These boundaries were maintained until the settlement of 363, which entailed a withdrawal that still kept the frontier far beyond that established in the reign of Hadrian. Warfare in the fourth century and afterwards tended to focus on the fortified cities on either side of the border.

Secondly, from the fourth to the seventh centuries the population of the Near East was denser than at any other time before the twentieth century. Many cities expanded (Apamea, Aleppo, Sergiopolis, Zenobia, Caesarea on the Sea, Jerusalem), although others declined (Cyrrhus, Emesa). Yet the cities apparently did not drain the prosperity of the rural areas. Villages grew in size, and farmhouses or small settlements are found on virtually every hill-top over wide areas. Settlements which had no city-status often had three or four churches. Even the marginal zone at the edge of the steppe was populated. This can be seen, for example, in southern Syria in the Hawran, or in northern Mesopotamia in the Tūr Abdin,⁶³ and in many parts of Palestine. Whatever the reasons for this demographic expansion, it is not a local phenomenon, since the same has been observed in other parts of Mesopotamia, notably in Babylonia, which belonged to the Sasanian empire.

Thirdly, it was in this period that the Saracens became an important factor in the relationships between the two empires, and in the exercise of control over marginal areas and trade routes.

Any attempt to understand Roman military organization in the Near East at this period must consider all these factors, both separately and together. As we shall see, the army moved into the marginal areas on an unprecedented scale, maintaining a strong presence along the main routes, and garrisoning some of the important cities in the area of confrontation with Persia. The combination of all these elements gives the military organization in the Near East a character distinct from that in other parts of the Empire.

A general discussion of army organization at this period may be found in chap. 7 above, pp. 211–37. Here we shall note briefly that part of the field army which served under the command of the *magister militum per Orientem*, who was based at Antioch (*Not. Dig. Or.* vii). The centrality of Antioch throughout the later Roman period must be emphasized. The city was the residence of both the *consularis* of Syria and the *comes Orientis* (whose

⁶³ Tate (1989b), esp. 107: 'les campagnes'; Sadini *et al.* (1980).

functions are a matter of debate), and of their staffs. It was also the site of one of the fifteen arms factories (*fabricae*) maintained by the state in the east (*Not. Dig. Or.* XI.18–39), the other arms factories in the diocese of Oriens being at Damascus, Edessa and Irenopolis in Cilicia. Above all, Antioch was an imperial residence for extended periods, especially during the campaigns against Persia. This is true for most of the years between 338 and 378.⁶⁴ The presence of expeditionary forces in and near Antioch regularly caused stress or even famine in the city.⁶⁵ Here as elsewhere, we have no clear impression of where the units of the field army were stationed in peacetime, nor do we know enough about their numerical strength to reach any reliable calculation of the total force involved.

While we have little information about the eastern field army, we know much more about the troops serving under the regional military commanders, the so-called *limitanei*. This is a term often misunderstood in the modern literature, like its complement *limes*.⁶⁶ *Limes* is not a term used to designate military structures or physical army organization. From the fourth century onward it is the formal term used to designate a frontier district under the command of a *dux*: it denotes a concept of military administration and never refers to a defended border. The *limitanei* were units under the command of a *dux limitis* and the term is used to distinguish such troops from the *comitatenses*, the field army. The term does not designate farmer-soldiers or members of a peasant militia, as has been assumed by some scholars.

The troops under the command of the *duces* are listed, together with the locations of their bases, in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. This material can be partly verified or augmented through comparison with inscriptions and some other literary sources. For instance, fourteen of the twenty-nine garrisons listed for Palaestina are found in other sources, nine of these in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* of biblical place-names, and five in other documents, such as the Theodosian Code, the fragments of decrees found at Beer Sheva, and the Colt Papyri from Nessana. Eusebius lists one garrison not attested (or identified) elsewhere,⁶⁷ and one which is not mentioned in the *Notitia* but attested elsewhere.⁶⁸ Thus we have more textual evidence of the distribution of garrisons at this period than at any other period in antiquity.

Archaeological research has identified many of these sites, and some have been excavated. The material remains of other installations have been explored, but not identified with locations mentioned in the texts. All the information thus made available allows extensive description, but it is less easy to reach a clear idea of the function of the system. In the case of individual installations, it is a mistake to assume that we can always easily

⁶⁴ Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, Appendix II, 436–8.

⁶⁵ Downey, *Antioch* 354, 365, 383.

⁶⁶ Isaac (1988).

⁶⁷ Theman (*On.* 96.20).

⁶⁸ Carcaria (116.18).

understand the motives for choosing a particular site as a fort, or the probable tasks of the men on the spot. Where the regional organization of the army is concerned, we need explicit statements if we want to have a real insight into the original aims of those who planned it. Ancient literature does not contain much explicit information of this kind. We must therefore consider various possibilities, such as the maintenance of security on the roads, and internal and local police functions. Any hypothesis should take into account settlement patterns. Military garrisons in or near settlements must have had functions relating to the civilian inhabitants in the region, while soldiers stationed along a desert road are likely to have provided road security. Units stationed in settlements on nodal points of the road-network may have had a combination of such tasks.

During the late third and early fourth centuries, in the reigns of the tetrarchs and of Constantine, a major reorganization is known to have taken place. There are scattered references in literary sources to the reforms in the Near East. Ammianus says that Diocletian fortified Cercesium on the Euphrates when he organized the 'inner *limites*' – i.e. the frontier regions further inland – as a response to the Persian raids into Syria (xxiii. 5. 1–2). Malalas, a less dependable author, relates that Diocletian built forts in the frontier districts from Egypt to the Persian frontier (*Chron.* p. 308 Bonn). They were manned by border troops on guard duty under the command of *duces*. *Stelae* were set up in honour of the emperor and Caesar. According to Zosimus (ii. 34. 1), Diocletian made the empire impenetrable to barbarians by stationing troops in cities, *castella* and towers in the frontier zones. Constantine, however, abolished this system by withdrawing the troops from the frontier to cities in the interior which, Zosimus says, did not need them.

These statements do not get us very far, particularly when we recall that the term *limes*, which recurs in many sources of this period, means no more than the regional command of a duke, or, vaguer still, a 'frontier district'. Even so, there is clearly an idea that there was a chain of military installations from Egypt to the Euphrates. This can indeed be identified with the aid of the *Notitia* and the results of exploration in the field.⁶⁹ The *stelae* mentioned by Malalas may be recognized as the milestones marking the *Strata Diocletiana*, a road from north-east Arabia and Damascus to Palmyra and the Euphrates. Apart from Lejjun in southern Arabia/Palaestina Tertia, legionary bases are found along the major roads. Many of them were located in towns, as was usual in the Near East, unlike the western parts of the empire. At the southern end of the line we find Aela on the site of modern Aqaba.⁷⁰ Moving to the north we should note Uduh (not mentioned in the *Notitia*), Bostra, Danaba (probably on the road from

⁶⁹ Van Berchem (1952). ⁷⁰ Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, Kennedy and Riley (1990), ch. 9.

Damascus to Sura), Palmyra, Oresa, Sura on the Euphrates, and finally Ceresium, 150 km down the river. The two legions in the old province of Judaea and the one at Raphanea near the Syrian coast were withdrawn at unknown dates before the fourth century. Similarly, the legions along the Euphrates, at Samosata and Zeugma, were also transferred once the river had ceased to be the border in northern Syria. Two of these bases have been extensively excavated: Lejjun and Palmyra.⁷¹

We know less about the distribution of troops in Mesopotamia, but it is clear that one legion was still based at Singara, and perhaps another at Bezabde. After the loss of eastern Mesopotamia, these were withdrawn to Cepha and Constantina. Further north, the old stations of Melitene, Satala and Trapezus on the Black Sea shore were legionary bases. While Melitene and Satala had been legionary bases before Diocletian, the key site of Trapezus was new as a legionary establishment. It should be kept in mind that a fourth-century legion of perhaps 1500 men was a much smaller unit than the legion of the principate with its full complement of around 6000 soldiers. The largest unit of the later Roman empire, then, was perhaps only a quarter of the size of the second-century unit. However, it is quite possible that many old units had long since been split up into permanent detachments. It is clear that the most important units were stationed on the strategic north-south routes from the Black Sea to the Red Sea, and between Damascus and the Euphrates. Many of these were based at nodal points in the road-system. Auxiliary units, also reduced in size, were stationed along the routes closer to, or within, the arid zone east of the *Via Traiana*, in the Aravah north of Aela, along the *Strata Diocletiana*, and elsewhere. An inscription from Azraq in Arabia also suggests that there was a link between Bostra and Dumata (Jawf), 500 km away in the northern Hijaz.⁷² Finally, we should note that there are many smaller structures along the roads in the desert and steppe. They look like small military outposts or police-stations and many of them go back to the fourth century, but they rarely bear inscriptions designating their function or the identity of their occupants.⁷³

This brief outline cannot form the basis for a discussion of the nature and purpose of the system. However, it is essential to note that even considerations based on the fullest possible description still end with fundamental queries. Attempts have been made to describe the organization as a 'system of defence in depth'. However, such notions are copied from modern parallels and do not reflect what is known about ancient military organization.

A few observations can be made. First of all, the connection between

⁷¹ Parker (1987); Gawlikowski (1984).

⁷² Most recently: MacAdam (1989).

⁷³ Kennedy and Riley (1990) ch. 10.

the road-system and the choice of sites is obvious. This is true not only for the many small posts which presumably may be described as police-stations, but also for the largest units. Topography, logistics and the existing road-system determined the location of military establishments. This is not a matter of course, for at this period there were many military systems in which the roads were constructed specifically to connect their bases – in other words, systems in which the roads were a secondary element, developed to serve the military structure. In this connection it is of interest that most or all of the *Strata Diocletiana* in Syria already existed as a road in the Flavian period. It is now clear that Resapha, a site on this road, which was a military base in the fourth century (*Not. Dig. Or.* xxxiii.27), was already occupied in the Flavian period.⁷⁴ All this fits John Mann's observation that the keynote of Diocletian's army reforms was consolidation rather than innovation.

Secondly, there was some expansion of the Roman presence in the steppe and a corresponding reduction of troops in the interior of Palestine and the coastal area of Syria. This may be connected with the expansion of settlement in the marginal areas during the Byzantine period. A third point worth repeating here is that in this period the Saracens became a significant factor in the exercise of control over the marginal areas and the trade routes. This was particularly important in the southern part of the region. In the north-eastern part, the relationship with Persia was the factor which determined military organization, but here too the Saracens achieved a role which they had not played in previous centuries. However, in the wars between the later Roman empire and Persia, the primary issue was the fortified cities of northern Mesopotamia. These were the focus of the fighting; they played a key role in the wars of the period in that they were responsible for the maintenance and manning of roads, bridges and road stations.⁷⁵ The citizens often had to defend themselves without effective support from the regular army. This is well described by Ammianus in the extreme case of Singara, which was taken by the Persians in 360, when there were not enough troops and local people to hold it:

even in earlier times, no one had ever been able to bring help to Singara when it was in danger, because all the surrounding country was dried up from lack of water. The place had been fortified in days of old as a convenient outpost to obtain advance information of any sudden enemy movement, but in fact it had proved a liability to Rome, because it was taken on several occasions with the loss of its garrison.⁷⁶

Singara was chosen as the easternmost legionary base after the annexation of the region by Septimius Severus, and lost to Persia in 363, together with

⁷⁴ M. Konrad, *Damascener Mitteilungen* 6 (1992) 313–402.

⁷⁵ Joh. Chrys. *Ad Stag.* 11.189f. (*PG* LX.457). Also: Segal (1955) 114f.

⁷⁶ Amm. Marc. xx.6.9, trans. Walter Hamilton, Penguin.

Nisibis and Bezabde. These cities, while Rome held them, and other fortified cities in the east fulfilled various functions. They were refuges for the army, staging-posts for campaigns, armouries, customs posts, bases for troops and refuges for the population during major wars. At such times no effort was made to protect the countryside. Ammianus impressively describes the Roman preparations for the Persian invasion of 359: the peasants were compelled to move to fortified places, Carrhae was abandoned as being indefensible, and the plain was set on fire (Amm. Marc. xvii.7.3-4). The loss of such cities was considered a major change in the balance of power. Throughout the later Roman empire, wars in Mesopotamia were fought for cities, not for territory or lines of defence.

V. CONCLUSION

The period covered in this volume is marked by elements characteristic both of the previous period and of the following centuries. Thus we have seen that Constantine was the first to introduce religion as a serious factor in the conflict between the two empires, using it as a tool for the justification of war. Shortly afterwards Julian was the last of a long line of Roman emperors to organize a major campaign into Babylonia. The failure of Julian's campaign and the subsequent settlement, which was unfavourable to Rome, paradoxically stabilized the relationship between the two powers to some extent. The invasion of the Huns in 395-7 was the first confrontation in the east with a potentially dangerous enemy from north of the Caucasus. More important, however, is the fact that pre-Islamic Arabs, 'Saracens', became a significant factor in the warfare between Rome and Persia as allies of both sides and as agents maintaining control over marginal areas between the settled lands and the desert. Here too religion played a political role, although it is difficult to trace. It is clear, however, that conversion was part of the process whereby Saracen nomads accepted the role of Byzantine allies or federates. Within the empire the status of the Jews deteriorated as the result of various measures taken by the Christian emperors. On the other hand, the Isaurians achieved a semi-independent status in their own region and, for some time, influence in the army through the troops and officers they supplied. Finally, the military organization of the second half of the fourth century had more in common with that of the sixth than with that of the third. This period witnessed the institution of territorial commands (*limites*) held by *duces* as distinct from the field army. A further separation was that of the military and civilian hierarchy and, in emergencies, a marked dependence on the resilience and self-reliance of the fortified cities in the east.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

A.D.	Emperors	The West
337	Death of Constantine (22 May). Constans, Constantine II and Constantius proclaimed emperors (9 September)	
340	Constantine II killed (spring)	
350	Magnentius proclaimed emperor in Gaul. Constans killed (shortly after 18 January)	
351	Gallus, brother of Julian, appointed Caesar; executed 354	
353	Magnentius commits suicide	355 Usurpation of Silvanus in Gaul; Silvanus assassinated; Cologne sacked by Franks
		355-9 Julian campaigns in Gaul; besieged at Sens by Alamanni; battle of Strasbourg (357); treaty of federation with Franks (357/8); restoration of Roman fortresses along the Rhine
360	Julian (Caesar 355) proclaimed emperor at Paris	
361	Constantius II died (3 November)	
363	Death of Julian in Mesopotamia while on campaign in the east (26 June). Jovian proclaimed	
364	Jovian dies near Ancyra (17 February). Valentinian I proclaimed (26 February); nominates his brother Valens as co-emperor in the east	
365	Revolt of Procopius in the east	
367	Valentinian's son Gratian proclaimed co-emperor, aged eight	367, 369 Valens leads armies across the Danube
		370-1 Treason trials at Rome; revolt of Firmus in N. Africa
375	Valentinian I dies after a stroke (17 November). Valentinian II, aged four, proclaimed emperor with Gratian	375 Valentinian I campaigns on lower Rhine and against the Quadi; Milan becomes seat of western court
		376 Tervingi allowed to cross the Danube

The East

337-50 Early wars of Constantius II against Persia

343-4 Battle of Singara

345 Constantius in Nisibis

346 Second siege of Nisibis

350 Third siege of Nisibis

350-60 Later Persian wars of Constantius II

359 Siege and fall of Amida

363 Julian at Antioch

363 Julian's Persian expedition

364 Jovian's treaty with Persia

365/6 Constantinople seized by Procopius

Cultural and Religious

340 Athanasius exiled

343 Council of Sardica

346 Athanasius restored

350 Death of Pachomius

356 Athanasius exiled again

356 Death of Antony

370-9 Basil bishop of Caesarea

371-2 Trials at Antioch

c. 371-97 Martin bishop of Tours

373 Death of Athanasius

374-97 Ambrose bishop of Milan

A.D.	Emperors	The West
378	Valens marches west from Antioch against Goths, reaches Constantinople (30 May), killed in battle of Adrianople (9 August)	
379	Theodosius, son of the elder Theodosius, Valentinian's <i>magister equitum</i> (executed 375), proclaimed emperor at Sirmium (19 January)	
		382 Peace treaty with Goths
383	Magnus Maximus proclaimed emperor in Britain and invades Gaul; Gratian deserted by his troops and killed (25 August). Magnus Maximus recognized as emperor by Theodosius. Invades Italy 387; Valentinian II and his mother Justina flee to Thessalonica. Arcadius, son of Theodosius, proclaimed emperor in east (19 January)	•
388	Magnus Maximus defeated by Theodosius and killed	
392	Valentinian II commits suicide having failed to dismiss Arbogast; Eugenius proclaimed emperor	
393	Honorius, son of Theodosius, proclaimed emperor	
394	Eugenius and Arbogast defeated by Theodosius' army at river Frigidus	
395	Theodosius I dies at Milan. His sons Honorius and Arcadius rule as emperors in west and east respectively	395 The ascendancy of Stilicho
		397-8 Revolt of Gildo in Africa

The East

Cultural and Religious

- 379 Death of Shapur II of Persia
- 379 Death of Basil of Caesarea;
Gregory of Nazianzus, *Funeral
Oration on Basil*
- 381 Council of Constantinople
- 382 Altar of Victory removed from
senate in Rome
- 382 Jerome in Rome, forced to leave
- 383 Gratian drops title of *pontifex
maximus*
- 387 Riot of the Statues, Antioch
- 387–90 Libanius, *For the Temples*
- 390 Riot and massacre at Thessalonica
- 391 Destruction of Serapeum of
Alexandria
- 391–2 Theodosius I's legislation against
paganism
- 393 Alaric and Goths threaten
Constantinople; Gainas and Eastern
armies return to Constantinople and
assassinate Rufinus
- 393–430 Augustine bishop of Hippo
- 396 Alaric and Goths ravage Greece
- 397–8 Synesius in Constantinople
- 397 Augustine's *Confessions*
- 398–404 John Chrysostom bishop of
Constantinople
- 399 Revolt of Tribigild and Greuthungi
in Phrygia; execution of Eutropius
- 399 Origenist monks go into exile from
Egypt
- 400 Gainas leaves Constantinople and
withdraws to Thrace; massacre of
Goths in city; Gainas defeated by
Fravitta, killed by Huns
- December/January 400/401

A.D.	Emperors	The West
407-13	Series of would-be usurpers in the west, successfully suppressed.	406 Vandals, Alans, Sueves cross Rhine.
408	Arcadius dies and is succeeded by his son Theodosius II, aged seven	408 Alaric and Visigoths enter Italy; fall and death of Stilicho 410 Sack of Rome by Alaric 410 Revolt of Britain; Honorius writes to cities of Britain
421	Constantius, <i>magister utriusque militiae</i> in the west since 411, and married to Galla Placidia in 417, declared emperor by Honorius (8 February); not recognized in the east. He dies of an illness after six months (2 September)	414 Marriage of Athaulf and Galla Placidia at Narbonne 418 Goths settled in southern Gaul
423	Death of Honorius	
425	Honorius' nephew Valentinian becomes emperor as Valentinian III, after a brief period during which John, the <i>primicerius notariorum</i> , had been proclaimed	429 Vandals cross to Africa 439 Vandals take Carthage
450	Theodosius II reigns in the east until his death in 450, when he is succeeded by the elderly senator Marcian, his rule reinforced by his marriage to Theodosius' sister the Augusta Pulcheria	

The East

Cultural and Religious

402 Temples in Gaza destroyed with
imperial sanction

411 Council of Carthage condemns
Donatists

412 Cyril becomes bishop of Alexandria

413–25 Augustine writing the *City of God*

415 Hypatia killed by mob in Alexandria

418 Council of Carthage condemns
Pelagianism; Orosius' *History against
the Pagans*

c. 420 John Cassian's *Institutes*

423 S. Symeon the Elder ascends pillar

431 Council of Ephesus

438 Theodosian Code

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS Maii</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (May), 71 vols. 1863–1940
<i>ABull</i>	<i>The Art Bulletin</i>
<i>AC</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJAHist</i>	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Amb. Op.</i>	<i>Opera Omnia di Sant' Ambrogio</i> , Milan and Rome 1979–
<i>Anal. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Annales (ESC)</i>	<i>Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini. Berlin 1972–
<i>Ant. Afr.</i>	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>L'Année Philologique</i>
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>
<i>ARCA</i>	Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, Liverpool
<i>Arch. Rev. from</i>	
<i>Cambr.</i>	<i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>BAGB</i>	<i>Bulletin d'Association Guillaume Budé</i>
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BCTH</i>	<i>Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et Rome
<i>BLE</i>	<i>Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BSNAF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Bull. Am. Soc.</i>	
<i>Pap.</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
<i>Byz. Forsch.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>Byz. Zeit.</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>

CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CArch	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i>
CEFR	<i>Collection de l'École Française de Rome</i>
CbHist	<i>Church History</i>
Chron. Min.	<i>Chronica Minora</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
C&M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CS	<i>Critica Storica</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna
C.Th.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Eccl. Occ. Mon.	<i>Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima</i> , ed. C. Turner.
Iur. Ant.	Oxford, 1899–1939
EFR	École Française de Rome
EHBS	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν. Athens
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Entr. Hardt.	Entretiens Hardt
Epigr. Anat.	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i>
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , ed. C. Müller
FIRA	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i>
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte.</i> Leipzig
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
GWU	<i>Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht</i>
Hist. Zeit.	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTbR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICUR	<i>Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae</i> , ed. Degraffi
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , ed. E. Diehl
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
IRT	<i>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> , ed. J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward-Perkins. Rome 1952
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>

<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JöB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MBAH</i>	<i>Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte</i>
<i>MDAI(R)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)</i>
<i>Med. Hist. Rev.</i>	<i>The Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome</i>
<i>MGH, Auct.</i>	
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Monumenta Historiae Germaniae, Auctores Antiquissimi</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
<i>MIOEG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
<i>Nott. Med. St.</i>	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies</i>
<i>OCA</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>P.Abinn.</i>	<i>The Abinnaeus Archive</i> , ed. H. I. Bell and others. Oxford 1962
<i>P.Bodm.</i>	<i>Papyri Bodmer</i> , Fondation Martin Bodmer, Geneva
<i>P.Ital.</i>	<i>Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700</i> , ed. J. O. Tjäder. Lund 1955
<i>P.Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , ed. F. G. Kenyon and H. I. Bell. London, 1893–1917
<i>P.Mich.</i>	<i>Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i> , Ann Arbor 1931–
<i>P.Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , ed. B. P. Grenfell and others. London, 1898–
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne
<i>PLRE 1</i>	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire 1</i> , ed. Jones, Martindale and Morris, 1971
<i>PO</i>	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Parola del Passato</i>
<i>PSI</i>	<i>Papyri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> . 1912–
<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart
<i>RD</i>	<i>Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger</i>
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>

REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
RecPbL	<i>Recherches de Philologie et de Linguistique</i> , Louvain
RecSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
REL	<i>Revue des Études Latines</i>
RFIC	<i>Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica</i>
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i>
RIDA	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
RIL	<i>Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo</i>
Riv. di Arch.	
Cristiana	<i>Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
Riv. di Filologia	<i>Rivista di Filologia</i>
RM	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
Röm. Quart.	<i>Römische Quartalschrift</i>
RSA	<i>Rivista Storica dell'Antichità</i>
RSI	<i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i>
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse
SChrét.	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
SCO	<i>Studi Classici ed Orientali</i>
SDHI	<i>Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin
Stud. Rom.	<i>Studi Romani</i>
Stud. Stor.	<i>Studi Storici</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
Theol. Zeitschr.	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
Te&MByz	<i>Travaux et Mémoires. Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
Vig. Christ.	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
YCS	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZRG	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Röm. Abt.)</i>

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